2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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583 shillings in money. It was the labour of the son-in-law over a certain period of years that was the essential tie uniting the families bound in marriage. In the majority of cases this is still so at the present day, though the changes produced by the absence of many young sons-in-law at the mines will have to be described.

The Secondary Groupings—the Matrilineal Descent Group.

•601 614 The matrilineal descent group can never be the chief principle of local association in a society that practises matrilocal marriage, permanent or temporary. Among the Bemba a man is legally identified with his mother's lineage group. To this descent group belong his mother (*nyina*, plur. *banyina*), her brothers (*nalume*, plur. *banalume*) and sisters (*banyina*), and the latter's children (*umunyina*, plur. *bamunyina*); his own brothers (*munyina*) and sisters (*nkashi*), and the latter's children (*umwipwa*, plur. *bapwa*); and, two generations below him, the children of his sisters' daughters (*umweshikulu* plur. *beshikulu*), who also belong to his clan. In this group the women members remain very closely associated throughout life. The girl lives with her mother and sisters during girlhood and early married years. She may continue to do so all her life. At any rate she constantly returns to visit her mother even if she is officially settled in her husband's village after some years of marriage. She summons her mother, and probably her sisters, to spend long weeks with her, especially if the birth of a child is expected. But the rule of matrilocal marriage naturally divides the men of the matrilineal descent group from the women, at any rate during their youth and early manhood. A young man normally lives neither with his father's people nor his mother's, but in the village of his bride. It is only if he has contracted a marriage within the village in which he was brought up, that he will remain associated with his sisters and parents. Neither the girl nor the boy necessarily live in the village of their mother's brother (*nalume*), who is their legal guardian, unless something has happened to break up the matrilocal family group into which they were born, or unless the boy has married his cross-cousin (*umufyala*, plur. *bafyala*) and therefore the mother's brother becomes a father-in-law (*shifyala*, plur. *bashifyala*).[1]

Nevertheless, the ties uniting the matrilineal descent group remain very strong and, as I stated, determine residence, in some

[1] Both types of cross-cousin marriage are practised.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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instances. This is especially the case with the brother-sister relationship in which the emotional and legal bond is very close. A man calls his sister by a special term—*nkashi*—to distinguish her from his classificatory sister whom he calls *munyinane* (plur. *bamunyinane*). A woman calls her brother *ndume* as distinct from her classificatory brother, whom she refers to also as *munyinane*. Both usually speak of this relationship in what struck me as a specially sentimental tone of voice. Natives seem to take pleasure in describing the brother's duty to look after (*ukusunga*) his sister, and say as a reason for this obligation that 'the man and the woman were born together from the same womb'.[1] The relationship is the subject of many proverbs and folk-tales in which the brother and sister are represented as succouring each other. In daily life, the man is on easy terms with his sister, particularly in the case of the royal family, where the interests of the two are specially identical. In Bemba society where there is a very even balance between patrilineal and matrilineal kinship there are two possible legal guardians for a woman, her father, or her mother's brother. After her father's death her brother takes the latter's place if he is old enough. Otherwise the mother's brother will look after her. Either brother, or mother's brother, will protect her if her husband dies, and defend her interests, if necessary, during the latter's life.[2] In the old days it was apparently quite common for an elderly woman to return to her brother's village to settle there in her old age and this she was able to do even if her husband remained alive by providing one of the brother's daughters as a substitute wife—*mpokoleshi*—in her place. Nowadays, besides the older women, younger women, widowed, divorced or deserted by husbands away at the mines, put themselves similarly under the protection of their elder brothers, and the phrase *Aya kuli ndume*—'she has gone to her brother'—signifies the return of the woman to her own matrilineal descent group.

The brother and sister also exert reciprocal rights over each other's children. In the old days the *nalume* had supreme power over his sister's son, and could even offer him as a slave in compensation for some irreparable injury he had committed to a

[1] *Bafyel·we pamo mwuifumo limo.*

[2] If the brother is younger than the sister the position is reversed and I have found a young man with no obvious male guardian alive, living at the elder sister's village, having contracted a marriage there at her suggestion.

2:Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1939
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third party. He could send for him to accompany him to war or to make a long journey at the chief's bidding. Case histories of older Bemba show frequent instances of men having settled in villages far from their original birthplace because they had 'followed their *nalume*' on some distant expedition in warrior days and had remained there. Nowadays the *nalume* can only exert these powers if he is of superior status to the father, or if the latter is away, or dead. The *nalume* has also certain rights over his maternal niece—also called *umwipwa*. He is consulted about her marriage and usually given a share of her marriage payment (*mpango*), which is technically speaking 'eaten' by the father.[1]

Direct European teaching and the introduction of a money currency have strengthened the father's authority over his children as against those of the mother's brother. The former pays tax for the household, buys the children's clothes, and pays the school fees. But, on the other hand, marriage is less stable under modern conditions, partly owing to the break-down of marriage morality and partly to the absence of so many men at the mines. In these circumstances, those few men who remain in the villages are bound to look after their sisters' children as well as their own in the last resort.

The paternal aunt, the *nyina senge*, also has rights over her brother's children and particularly his daughters. She is believed to have power to bless or curse her brother's daughter (*umwana senge*) with fertility or barrenness, and is much feared on that account.[2] In the old days she could demand her niece as a substitute wife for her husband—the *mpokoleshi* marriage described on p. 115, or as an additional one.[3] But the rights and duties of the *nyina senge* do not determine the residence of her *bepwa*, male and female, to any extent. However, it must be remembered that cross-cousin marriages unite the households of brother and sister even more intimately than before, and that where the boy marries his *nyina senge's* daughter, he will go to live in her village, just as he who contracts a union with his *nalume's* child, goes to live in the latter's community. The sample village analysed

[1] This custom, an act of grace to the *nalume*—not his right, has become more important nowadays since money from 2*s*. 6*d*. to £1 has been substituted for the two bark-cloths given as *mpango* in the old days.

[2] And also given a share of the *mpanga* if possible.

[3] Nowadays this right seems to be rarely exerted. I only met three cases of its occurrence.

3: Richards E-5 (1930-1934)1956
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562 ancestral shrines. They are also the potential mothers of future
644 chiefs and provide their brothers' heirs. Senior princesses stride in
622 and out of their brothers' royal enclosures, advise them, hector them and borrow their things. The senior wives of chiefs are also
[789] honoured highly since they hold in their charge the royal fire and they can, by their conduct, destroy or maintain the supernatural powers of the chief. They are thus able at any time to 'spoil the land'.

562 In courts of law women can plead their own cases; this is most unusual in the patrilineal societies to the south. When contracting their first marriage they are under the control of their fathers' and their mothers' brothers, but they are fairly free to contract second
[587 marriages at their own wish. They are certainly able to break a
586] marriage contract with much greater ease than women in patrilineal Bantu societies who pass under the control of their husband's patrilineage on the transfer of cattle at marriage, and divorce is rather frequent in this society. Bemba women have the reputation on the copper belt of Northern Rhodesia for being quite unmanageable by men of other tribes. Such men shrug their shoulders, raise their eyes to heaven and say 'These Bemba women! My word! They are fierceness itself'.

Compared to many patrilineal tribes, the Bemba women seem to have a high status. Parents welcome the birth of girls since they bring husbands into their village and build up its strength. Daughters become founders of new lines since the succession passes through them. When they first marry they are under the very definite authority of their relatives, but they are 'at home' whereas their husbands are outsiders from other villages. They have the support of their parents and may form part of a solid phalanx of married sisters, and they are therefore in an extremely strong position. As they become mothers and grandmothers their authority increases. Teknonymy is practised and women are called
● [601] by the names of their sons or daughters with the female prefix 'na' On the birth of the first grandchild their name is changed to grandmother of so-and-so—this is a title of respect.[1] The Bemba woman is shy and submissive as a girl, but once a grandmother she

[1] E.g. Na-Kampamba = the mother of Kampamba;
Nakulu-Canda = the grandmother of the Canda.

576 girl has no fire-place of her own when she marries, and remains a member of her mother's cooking-group, even as a young married woman. This extended family group is not a joint household in the sense of a compound surrounded by a wall, or a homestead or kraal separated from other houses by some form of hedge, but a group of households which cooperate even though the huts in 543 which they live may be scattered through the village. When a married man with children wins the right to remove his family to his own village, it is a unit of this kind which usually moves with him. Richards describes the delight of a Bemba man in the birth of daughters who will attract sons to 604 the village and build up a group of this kind. In fact, although a woman's 611 children belong to her clan and must submit ultimately to the authority of her brother, who could, in the old days, sell them into slavery, the father nevertheless acquires considerable authority over his wife and children in a stable marriage. When the children are small they obey him; when the daughters marry they stay at first under his rule; and even the sons who go elsewhere to marry, remember their father, give him presents and may even join him later in preference to living with their mother's brother. Children also take their father's name, although they belong to their mother's clan, and some "sons of the chief" are given minor chieftainships as well as the royal princes - the sisters' sons of the chief. Richards emphasizes the extent to which authority is divided between the father and the mother's brother in this area, with a tendency for the power of the father to increase under modern conditions.(1)

604 Richards states that the avunculate is stronger at the present day among the Bisa. It is not quite clear whether this is a structural difference or due to the fact that the Bisa are, on the whole, less in contact with European civilisation. Little is known of this aspect of kinship among the Aushi and Unga. There seems, however, to be a marked contrast between the position of the father and mother's brother among the Bemba and among the Cewa and Yao to the east, where the avunculate is again much more strongly developed and there seems to be some form of corporate matrilinage.(2)

596 It will be seen that as regards residence and common activities the effective kinship unit is not one based on unilineal descent, as is common among the patrilineal, patrilocal Bantu, but a loosely organised group of kinsfolk composed of near relatives on both sides of the family. The Bemba call this group a *lupwa*.

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

●601 The bilateral character of Bemba kinship ties is reflected in the system of nomenclature. It will be found that in one's own generation, where there is the maximum distinction in terminology, a man uses the term *munyinane* for his own brothers and for parallel cousins, male and female, on his father's and his mother's side. Only his own sister is called by a special term, *nkushi*. A woman in the same way uses the sibling term for her own sister and for her parallel cousins, male and female, but uses a special term, *ndume*, for her own brother. No marriage is possible between a man and any woman who is a *munyina* on the maternal or paternal side. A special term *mufyalu* is used by men and women for their cross-cousins, i.e. either for the father's

(1) Richards, 1, 1934 and 9, 1950. (2) Tew, 1950, pp. 11, 43.

601 [605] sister's child or the mother's brother's child. Cross-cousin marriage is, as has been said, the preferential marriage, and joking relationships exist between a man and his female cross-cousins on either side.

In the first ascending generation, a man uses the term *tata* for his own father, his father's brothers, real and classificatory, and the husband of a woman whom he calls mother. He uses the term *mayo* for his own mother and her sisters, real or classificatory. He distinguishes his father's sister by a special term, *mayo senge*, from his mother's sisters and the mother's brother by a separate term, *yaya*, from his father's brother. In the first descending generation, there is a common term, *mwana*, used for both sexes, but a man calls the children of his sister by a special term, *mwipwa*, and a woman calls the children of her brother either *mwipwa* or *mwana senge*.

In the second ascending generation there is a common term, *shikulu*, for the paternal and maternal grandfathers, real or classificatory, and *nana* for grandmother. In the second ascending generation the same term, *mwishikulu*, is used for boys and girls, whether the children of daughters or the children of sons. The common term, *bunwe*, is used for spouses and members of the *lupwa*, although there is a special term for sons-in-law and daughters-in-law, *shifyala* or *najyala*. These terms are used reciprocally.

CHANGES IN MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY DUE TO EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

797 177 Changes in marriage and the family have resulted both from the teaching of Christian missions and also because of the absences of adult males, who leave home to earn the means wherewith to pay tax and buy European goods. Missionary teaching has, as in other areas, been directed against the practice of polygyny and divorce. Missionaries have also opposed the practice of giving young girls to their husbands before puberty. They have endeavoured also to eradicate the magical attitudes towards sex and fire, described in a later section - attitudes which form one of the sanctions of marriage morality. They have been largely successful in their attempt to prevent the celebration of girls' initiation ceremonies (*cisungu*

797 177 585 Native marriage is recognised in this area. The British South Africa Company recognised the Native Customary Law from the start and administered it through district magistrates' courts with the aid of Bemba assessors. Simultaneously the Missions instituted various Christian ceremonials in which a restricted(1) form of traditional marriage ceremony was carried out. With the institution in 1929 of Native Courts of Law, all civil actions arising out of marriage were referable to them and not to a European Magistrate. An early missionary claim to regulate marriages was quashed in 1934. Native marriages may now be registered.

LABOUR MIGRATION

167 464 Although it is generally recognized that labour migration has been an

(1) Without initiation rites and full ceremonial, e.g. post-initiation intercourse.